

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 PM-07 NSC-10 SPC-03 SS-20 RSC-01

PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00 EA-11 EUR-25

DRC-01 ACDA-19 /135 W

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P R 201200Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7484

INFO USMISSION USUN NY

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL MADRAS

S E C R E T NEW DELHI 12241

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, IN, US

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY

1. THE FOREIGN SECRETARY, KEWAL SINGH, CALLED ME IN YESTERDAY, OCT NINETEEN, THE FIRST TIME THE INITIATIVE HAS BEEN TAKEN BY HIM SINCE MY COMING HERE. WE WERE ALONE TOGETHER FOR MORE THAN AN HOUR, IN THE COURSE OF WHICH HE GOT LATER AND LATER FOR A MEETING WITH THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS FOLLOWING UP MY MEETING OCTOBER EIGHTEEN WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. IMMEDIATELY AFTER MY SEEING HER SHE CALLED HIM AND HER SECRETARY P.N. DHAR, WHO HAD BEEN PRESENT AT THE MEETING, TO HER OFFICE TO TALK ABOUT WHAT I HAD SAID. (HE VOLUNTEERED THIS: WE HAD ALREADY LEARNED OF IT.) IT SEEMED SHE WAS DISTRESSED BY MY OFFERING A PERSONAL JUDGMENT THAT THE DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN OUR NATIONS COULD BE OVERCOME IN PERHAPS TWENTY YEARS. SINGH SAID IT WAS NOT A MATTER OF YEARS BUT OF MONTHS. THE

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PRIME MINISTER WAS EQUALLY DISTURBED AT MY REPORT THAT

AFTER FIFTY TWO YEARS IN INDIA THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION WAS LEAVING BECAUSE IT COULD NOT OBTAIN APPROVAL OF PROJECTS IT PROPOSED. SHE HOPED THIS DECISION COULD BE REVERSED, AND THE SECRETARY ASKED IF I WOULD USE MY INFLUENCE TO THIS EFFECT.

2. I ACCEPTED HIS JUDGMENT THAT RELATIONS COULD VISIBLY IMPROVE IN THE SHORT TERM, AND AGREED TO GET IN TOUCH WITH JOHN KNOWLES AT ROCKEFELLER, BUT HELD MY GROUND THAT THERE WAS TOO MUCH HISTORY BETWEEN US TO BE OVERCOME IN LESS THAN A GENERATION. I MADE CLEAR MY REPEATED POINT THAT THIS HAS LITTLE TO DO WITH BANGLADESH, BUT RATHER WITH THE FAR MORE PROFOUND FACT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD SUCCEEDED TO THE ROLE OF THE CAPITALIST IMPERIALIST ENEMY IN THE MIND OF INDIAN SOCIALISM, WHILE INDIA HAD TEMPORARILY BEEN THE OBJECT OF AMERICAN UTOPIAN EXPERIMENTALISM. BOTH VIEWS CAUSED PROFOUND RESENTMENT IN THE OTHER PARTY, AND THAT WAS ALL THERE WAS TO IT. I ADDED THAT IN MY JUDGMENT BOTH THESE DOCTRINES WERE SPENT FORCES IN WORLD HISTORY, AND WOULD NOT MUCH FORM THE MINDS OF COMING GENERATIONS, BUT WOULD CONTINUE IN PLACE SO LONG AS THOSE NOW ALIVE ARE IN PLACE. HE DID NOT IN FACT VERY MUCH DISAGREE, BUT RATHER, ASKED THAT I UNDERSTAND THAT THEY UNDERSTOOD SOME PART OF THIS. IT WAS A THOROUGHLY PLEASANT CONVERSATION.

3. KEWAL SINGH IS LEAVING TODAY FOR THE UNITED NATIONS. I RAISED TWO MATTERS WITH HIM. FIRST I NOTED THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS INSCRIBED ON ITS AGENDA AN ITEM CALLING FOR THE EXPULSION OF THE DELEGATION OF THE KHMER REPUBLIC AND THE TRANSFER OF THE SEAT OF POWER TO THE SIHANOUK EXILE. I NOTED THAT INDIA HAD VOTED FOR THIS MOVE, BUT THAT THAT NEED NOT IMPLY ANYTHING MORE THAN A WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS THE MATTER. I SAID THAT IT SEEMED TO ME IF THERE WAS ANYTHING THE UNITED NATIONS DIDN'T NEED, IT WAS TO GET INTO THE BUSINESS OF SEATING GOVERNMENTS IN EXILE, ETC., ADDING THAT IT WAS A PRECEDENT, ALONG WITH THE PUERTO RICAN MATTER, THAT INDIA MIGHT WELL BE

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VERY CAREFUL ABOUT ENCOURAGING. HE DID NOT DISAGREE, BUT ADDED THAT BOTH AT BELGRADE AND AT ALGIERS SIHANOUK HAD SPOKEN TO MS. GANDHI, AND HE DIDN'T KNOW HOW INDIA WOULD COME OUT. I SAID I THINK I KNEW ALREADY AND THAT IT WAS THEIR FUNERAL. I THEN RAISED THE TWO KOREAS ISSUE. HERE HE SEEMED QUITE EASY IN AGREEING THAT NORTH AND SOUTH SHOULD BE ADMITTED, AND THAT IF THEREAFTER THEY GOT TOGETHER AS ONE UNIFIED NATION, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

COULD ADJUST ITS MEMBERSHIP ACCORDINGLY.

4. ON NO OCCASION WAS THE MIDDLE EAST RAISED, SAVE IN A PARTING COMMENT BY ME THAT A CEASE FIRE MIGHT BE POSSIBLE AND BY HIM THAT INDEED IT MIGHT.

5. FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH, THE INDIANS PUT OUT A HIGHLY COMPLEMENTARY VERSION OF MY MEETING WITH THE PRIME

MINISTER. SHE, OR THEY, OBVIOUSLY DO NOT LIKE THE IDEA THAT WE SEEM TO BE STEADILY DISENGAGING, AND THAT FAR FROM INTERFERING, WE ARE FINDING WE CAN DO WITHOUT THEM VERY WELL. KEWAL SINGH WAS NOTABLY RESPONSIVE WHEN I SAID THAT INDIA'S REAL PROBLEM WITH PAKISTAN WAS THAT THAT SMALL AND EXPOSED NATION MAY BE SUBJECTED TO BRUTAL PRESSURES FROM ITS AFGHAN NEIGHBOR, AND THAT INDIA'S GREATEST POTENTIAL DANGER NOW WAS THAT PAKISTAN SHOULD NOT PROVE STRONG ENOUGH TO WITHSTAND THE PRESSURES UPON HER.

MOYNIHAN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NEWDE12241
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS MOYNIHAN
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: NEW DELHI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731019/aaaaanxo.tel
Line Count: 135
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 OCT 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12-Oct-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <10-Jan-2002 by elyme>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY
TAGS: PFOR, IN, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005